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Christianity
among the
Religions
of the
World

J. ESTLIN
CARPENTER

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THE PLACE OF CHRISTIANITY
AMONG THE
RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD

THE
PLACE OF CHRISTIANITY
AMONG THE
RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD

Joseph
BY
J. ESTLIN CARPENTER, M.A.

'One accent of the Holy Ghost
This heedless world hath never lost.

London
PHILIP GREEN, 5, ESSEX STREET, STRAND, W.C.
1904

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THE first three chapters of this little book were originally written for the *Inquirer* in 1901, as part of a series of surveys of the progress of thought and knowledge in philosophy and religion during the nineteenth century. They are now republished (with the addition of a section on Islám), by way of a brief popular introduction to the great study of the history of religion which is at length definitely established among us.

The fourth chapter was prepared at the invitation of the Committee of the International Council of Unitarian and other Liberal Religious Thinkers, which held its second meeting at Amsterdam in September, 1903. A few passages in the section on Hindu thought have been expanded, in order to bring out more clearly the contrasts between the fundamental conceptions of religious experience in the Indian and the Hebrew developments. In tracing the barest outlines of the succession of faiths, and endeavouring to estimate their relative spiritual significance, it is inevitable that those who speak from the outside should lay a different emphasis on the same facts compared to those who speak from within. Just as the art, the poetry, the ethical types, of the higher races vary, so also must the specific expressions of faith. The time has not yet come when the East and the West can see eye to eye. But we are daily learning new lessons of sympathy and reverence. To help, however imperfectly, to enforce this teaching, is the purport of the following pages.

J. E. C.

Oxford, *January*, 1904.

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THE PLACE OF CHRISTIANITY
AMONG THE
RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD

I.

COMPARATIVE RELIGION AND MODERN THOUGHT.

AMONG the new studies of the nineteenth century none has grown more rapidly, or produced already more significant results, than that which Professor Max Müller, a generation ago (1870), formally described as 'The Science of Religion.' More than a hundred years before Hume had laid the basis for it in his dissertation on *The Natural History of Religion* in 1757. With the materials then available, by comparison and analysis, Hume had endeavoured to work out the problem of the origin of religion in human experience. He traced it back to the intellectual impulse which sought

for the causes of the phenomena by which man is encompassed and affected, and the emotions of hope and fear arising out of his dependence on them. The work of Hume was far beyond his time. The average mind of the eighteenth century did not interest itself about such questions. 'There are two objects of curiosity'—such was the dictum of Dr. Johnson—'the Christian world and the Mohammedan world; all the rest may be considered as barbarous.' Even as he spoke, influences were already at work which were destined to break down this grotesque and ignorant limitation. English scholarship followed English arms in India, and began to bring to light literatures and philosophies of which the Western world had never dreamed. One by one the great civilisations of the past yielded up their treasures, and the last century has witnessed the discovery of ancient faiths, so that the history of religion is now known to be inseparably connected with the whole history of the human race. To sketch this process (as clearly as may be within such narrow compass) is the object of these papers.

I.

The religious controversies of the first part of the eighteenth century were largely concerned with the distinction between Natural and Revealed Religion. In the conception of revealed religion the main stress fell on the *doctrines* which were conceived as beyond the scope of human reason, so that they could only be made known to man by a supernatural process. Religion, accordingly, was supposed to lie in the acceptance of a system of truths, presented from some external source, and duly sanctioned by appropriate manifestations of authority. Now, as different religions taught different doctrines about divine things, they could not all be true. From the Evangelical point of view, therefore, religions might be classified as *true* and *false*, a division which has lasted on to our own day, as when the late Sir W. Monier Williams described Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Mohammedanism, as the 'three chief false religions.'

Modern philosophy, however, is founded on a different assumption. Following on Hume, Kant undertook his great inquiry into

the theory of human knowledge, and German thought grappled with the problem of the relation between the mind within and the world without. This led inevitably to fresh attempts to explain the significance of religion. But they were not based on the historical record of revelation; they were founded on the analysis of inner experience. This investigation brought to light new elements, to which varying importance might, indeed, be assigned, but all of which were discovered within the soul itself. One school might lay stress on the principle of thought, on the essentially rational character of the world. In this case the secret meaning of religion was apprehended in the relation of the thought of man to that of God. Another might raise feeling into prominence, insist on the consciousness of dependence as the root of faith, and find in sentiments of humility and reverence, of awe and trust, the ground of the religious life. The great doctrines of religion were then interpreted as the efforts of the intellect to state and organise its experience; but these only constituted the

form, and consequently changed as knowledge widened and the horizon of thought enlarged; what was important was that the emotions should be genuine and unforced. It is not needful to rehearse the specific modifications successively suggested by the great teachers of Germany: Kant, with his reconstruction of religion on an ethical basis, Hegel and his doctrine of the absolute, Schleiermacher with his protest that religion is neither morals nor metaphysics but lies in the feeling with which the soul contemplates the varied life revealed in nature and in man—these three names may stand as representatives of different aspects of the great inquiry and the solutions which it begot. However much they might differ in detail, or even in principle, they all agreed in this—the sources of religion were to be found in the mind itself. In other words, religion belonged to man as man; its outward acts of worship, like its traditional beliefs, arose out of inner impulses quite independent of external divine commands. Religion, therefore, must be regarded as inseparably bound up with human nature;

it had a universal character, and the study of it was justified by psychology. It was one of the great merits of Theodore Parker, in his *Discourse of Religion*, 1842, to emphasize this general result. It was of course implicitly contained in different forms in the teaching of Carlyle and Emerson. In the light of these ideas the doctrine of primeval revelation, applied in this country by the late Mr. Gladstone and the editor of the *Speaker's Commentary*, the late Canon Cook, receded into the background. It was no longer necessary to explain the facts.¹

Meantime the scholars of Germany and France were actively at work beside the philosophers. Meiners opened the way with a *General Critical History of Religions*, published at Hanover in 1806. Creuzer and Constant followed, and Ferdinand Christian Baur showed the range of his knowledge in an early treatise on *Symbolism and Myth-*

¹ A different feeling is found in Maurice's *Religions of the World*, 1848, which is defective, however, on the historical side. Much more careful appreciations, based on extended investigation of the materials then available, are to be seen in Hardwick's *Christ and other Masters*, 1856-1858; second and posthumous edition in two vols., 1863.

ology (1824). The first serious attempt to formulate laws of religious development was made by Comte in the *Philosophie Positive*, but the time for such an effort was not yet come. Far more careful study of the historical manifestations of religion was necessary, before any general theory could be successfully established. But meantime an extraordinary impulse in the study of the early forms of religion was received from a hitherto unknown field.

II.

In 1838 appeared the Sanskrit text of the first book of the hymns of the Rig Veda. The brilliant young scholar, Frederick Rosen, who had begun the enterprise, had died the previous year, and for a time it seemed as if no one could carry on the work. But another young German scholar was at hand. Fresh from the lectures of Eugène Burnouf in Paris, recommended by Baron Bunsen, supported by the East India Company, Max Müller undertook the laborious task of editing, for the first time, the ancient hymns of the Aryan

ancestors of the Hindus, and the commentary embodying their traditional explanation. The first volume was published in 1849, and five others followed in the next twenty years. The significance of Sanskrit for comparative philology had been known for some time. But here were revealed a whole series of astonishing parallels with the gods of Greece. Zeus could be at once identified with the Indian Dyaus, and the prayers to the 'Sky-father' showed that a thousand years and more before our era the men of the Punjab and the middle Ganges valley had in some sense addressed themselves to the Father which is in heaven. A number of other deities in turn came into view, and round these gathered epithets and stories resembling those of the Hellenic peoples. Out of a comparison of these sprang the new science of comparative mythology.¹ The essence of this science lay in the assumption that the myth was originally an effort to interpret the phenomena of nature, in terms of personality and human

¹ Max Müller's famous essay on 'Comparative Mythology' was first published in 1856.

relation. The phenomena in question might be connected with the heavenly bodies, with the sun and moon pre-eminently, with the vicissitudes of the storm; but the story had a basis in some observed fact, and its meaning (which had become obscured by decay) was to be discovered through the study of language. When this view was applied to the investigation of early religion, the element which came most into prominence was the element of *belief*. The myths of different peoples contained their oldest thoughts about the gods; the titles by which these beings were designated, involved so many ideas; and these conceptions seemed the important thing in determining the character and value of any ancient faith. The field of mythology was so vast that it appeared to include everything. With amazing skill and fearless courage a whole army of scholars devoted themselves to the comparison and explanation of myths, as if they enshrined the secrets of primitive religion. It was a necessary work; but it did not, after all, exhaust the range of the new study, and a number of

influences have since diverted attention into other directions.

III.

Paramount among these influences was the general doctrine of evolution. This could, of course, be applied at any point in the long line of historical development. It could be invoked in explanation of the modifications of the higher faiths traceable in literature. But it had a special significance in connection with the forms of the lower culture. For it was the assumption of evolution that the higher races had themselves passed through the ruder phases of an earlier growth. They had emerged out of conditions resembling those which could still be studied in the savage communities of our own time. If so, then the loftier religions occupying the peaks of history had been slowly reared out of the levels of thought and feeling traceable at this day. The principle of continuity could not be accepted in one department and rejected in another, and accordingly *all* the historic aspects of religion must be capable of some

sort of co-ordination. This had been already affirmed by Auguste Comte, but it was destined now to be established on a much wider basis of inductive research than was open to him. In the light of the new ideas it was soon seen that the religions embodied in the Vedic hymns could not be in any sense regarded as 'primitive.' They had a long history behind them. They belonged to various stages of culture, and represented cruder and more advanced phases of thought blended together in strange juxtaposition. The search for 'origins,' therefore, pushed its endeavours still further back; and the beginnings of religion were explored with the aid of the rising science of anthropology.

Foremost among the interpreters of this science stands the honoured name of Dr. E. B. Tylor, whose investigations into the *Early History of Civilisation* (1865), were quickly followed by his famous work on *Primitive Culture* in 1871. For many minds the careful study of this book has made an era never to be forgotten. It supplies them with a method of investigation;

it marshals with splendid order vast armies of carefully collated facts; it proceeds so calmly but so surely along the path of science from the known to the unknown. Other scholars were of course working in the same field. In England alone Mr. Herbert Spencer had long before, in one of his luminous essays, suggested an important line of inquiry into the primitive theory of the soul, afterwards elaborately expanded in his *Principles of Sociology*, and Sir John Lubbock discoursed genially of the *Origin of Civilisation*. The effect of these studies was visible in many ways. An enormous mass of material was collected, proving the immense significance of religion as a social force in early forms of tribal life. But this power was exerted largely through certain common acts. Mythology, therefore, viewed as an interpretation of celestial or atmospheric phenomena, occupied a less prominent place, and rites (such as those of sacrifice) came to the front. These, no doubt, implied more or less definite beliefs; but this element exerted much less practical effect than other powers in the tra-

ditional agencies through which the tribal ideas of life were brought to bear upon the individual. The study of sacred acts, of mysteries of initiation, and the like, with all the emotions which they involve, has for a time concentrated the attention of investigators on the social aspects of early religion; many myths are now seen to have a ritual rather than a physical meaning, and the philological 'key to all mythologies' is perhaps unduly discredited because it had been unduly exalted. The works of Mr. Andrew Lang, Mr. Frazer, and the late Professor W. Robertson Smith, have laid the foundations of new developments of research. The survival of savage beliefs and usages in religion among peoples otherwise advanced can no longer be ignored. The rise of the historical method has vindicated the pregnant saying of Confucius, 'To understand the present we must study the past.'

II.

LIGHT ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE study of Comparative Religion is interesting from many points of view: in this paper a few notes are offered in illustration of its bearing on the Old Testament. The fortunes of the people of Israel brought them into close contact with a remarkable succession of nations. They came from the Land of the Two Rivers, where an ancient civilisation had existed for thousands of years before the tribes made their way into the land of Canaan. They sojourned in Egypt when the empire of the Nile valley was at the height of its splendour. The captives of Judah lived beside the Babylonian canals till the successors of Nebuchadrezzar fell

before the Persian onset. For the next two centuries the new power controlled the destinies of Jerusalem, till it went down in its turn at the shock of Alexander's conquest, and Western Asia surrendered to the Greek. What light do the discoveries of our century throw on the records of Israel's thought and life in the Old Testament?

I.

It is more than two hundred years since reports and drawings of inscriptions in wedge-shaped (cuneiform) characters at Persepolis and elsewhere first reached Europe. But no progress could be made in deciphering them until more correct copies had been procured. The first effective step was made by Grotefend, of Hanover, in 1802. After long poring over the unknown words he succeeded in identifying three names—Darius, Xerxes, and Hystaspes. The most valuable clue, however, was supplied by a young British officer, Lieutenant Henry Rawlinson, who began in 1835, under great difficulties, to copy a triple inscription on Mount Behistun, near Ker-

manshah, in Persia. Ten years later, when Consul at Baghdad, he returned to the work, and his results were published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1846. It was the most important contribution to cuneiform study.¹ The inscription was in three languages. The Persian was read with comparative ease, and the key was thus obtained to the others, which were found to be in Median and Babylonio-Assyrian. Meantime Botta had begun to open the mounds at Mosul in 1842, and Layard followed at Nineveh. The latter had discovered part of the Royal library, and the fragments of inscriptions which he collected were estimated by Rawlinson at over twenty thousand. The attention of scholars was at first chiefly drawn to their historical value, but, as new texts were brought to light, it began to dawn upon Sir Henry Rawlinson that some of the early material in Genesis had probably been derived from Babylonian sources. This question was settled in 1872, when the late Mr.

¹ By a totally different method Dr. Edward Hincks, of Killyleagh, arrived independently about the same time at similar principles of cuneiform interpretation.

George Smith announced his discovery of an epic narrative containing a story which was obviously the prototype of the Noachic flood. From this point the advance has been rapid. Much of the early history of mankind in the first eleven chapters of Genesis can be referred to the general cycle of ideas in Mesopotamia. The story of Eden has not yet indeed been disinterred from the ancient mounds. But here are the roots of the Canaanite culture; here are the origins of obscure mythic forms which (as Gunkel has recently shown) have found an important place in Christian apocalyptic expectation; here are hymn and prayer, the confession of the sinner, and the aspiration of the righteous; here are laws, as in the recently discovered Code of Hammurabi (2285-2242 B.C.), strangely resembling early Hebrew usage. Here, too, are the temple and the rite, here are hierarchy and sacrifice, and here the figure of the revealing god whose name reappears in Mount Nebo, and is kindred with the 'prophet' of Israel. Old Testament language, history, religion, once so

fondly deemed unique, are now correlated with products of thought and usage far older than themselves. The cuneiform discoveries have reinforced the conclusions of science that the story of Adam and Eve is in no sense the actual record of an event, and the theologians are left to reconcile as they can their theories of revelation and the positive fact.

What, then, of Egypt, with which the scholars of an older day so often sought to connect some of the details of the institutions attributed to Moses? In that field, too, research has been fruitful, for a whole civilisation has been reconstructed. We can follow the ancient Egyptian now through almost every stage of his career. His toys—even the little wooden crocodiles with snapping jaws—are found in our museums; his dress, his tools, his sports, his occupations, his mathematical problems, his novels, his prayers—we know them all. The temple and the tomb have yielded up their secrets, and the varied panorama of ancient Egyptian life is revealed even more clearly than that of

Greece or Rome. A hundred years of incessant labour have had their reward. Discovery began with the famous Rosetta stone during the expedition of Napoleon I. to Egypt in 1799. It contained a decree of the Ptolemaic epoch in two forms of Egyptian writing (hieroglyphic and demotic) and in Greek. The key to the Egyptian was found by an English physician, Dr. Thomas Young, who made out the name Ptolemy, and laid down the leading principles of hieroglyphic decyphering. But his linguistic knowledge was too imperfect to carry him very far, and it was the brilliant French scholar Champollion who began in 1821 the series of publications which securely established the grammar and lexical affinities of the Egyptian language.

From that time the work of exploration has been busy. Texts were copied, tentative translations were made, and the strange medley of forms in the Egyptian pantheon slowly emerged into some kind of distinctness. Students were bewildered by the perplexing problems which were offered to them. Mysterious speculations of a quasi-pantheistic

kind subsisted side by side with degrading types of animal worship. Crude survivals of savagery jostled highly spiritual ideas. At one time it was confidently supposed that the origin of the sublime phrase, 'I am that I am' (*Exodus* iii. 14), might be carried back to an Egyptian formula *nuk pu nuk*; but the best Egyptologists have long abandoned this identification. Most interest, perhaps, gathered round the remarkable book in which the dwellers by the Nile recorded their faith in the next life, and traced the perils of the soul in its adventurous journey after death through the underworld.

Copies of the *Book of the Dead* are now displayed in all the chief museums in Europe; and almost everyone is familiar with the famous judgment scene in the *Hall of the Two Truths*. It was an English scholar, the late Dr. Birch, who first grappled with the difficulties of translating this singular collection of spells and confessions. Here are magic and morals in curious alliance. But no one who has stood in one of the great Egyptian tombs, such as that of

Seti I., father of the Rameses of the oppression, and seen the solemn representations of judgment, beatitude, and penal doom, which depicted the destiny of the departed, can help asking himself why such ideas left not a trace on Israel. No student of Hebrew antiquities or religion now resorts to Egypt for an explanation. No one would attempt to connect the morality of the Ten Commandments with the confessions of the soul before the forty-two assessors in front of the sanctuary of Osiris. Some of the sacred hymns of Egypt, long before the Exodus, were far in advance of the tribal customs of the Mosaic age. But Israel had within it the germ of a religious development denied to Egypt, whose ancient faith has little more share in modern religion than is indicated by the curious parallels between Isis and Horus on the one hand and the Virgin and Child on the other,¹ or the picture of the soul-weighing in the papyrus of Ani and the similar sculpture on the tympanum of the west portal of Notre-Dame in Paris.

¹ Cf. the little treatise on *Egyptian Mythology and Egyptian Christianity*, by the late Mr. Samuel Sharpe, p. 85.

II.

While the exiles of Judah were listening to the glowing words of the prophets of the Captivity, a new movement was making itself felt in the North-east. Three years after the fall of Jerusalem (so the latest investigator believes himself able to fix the date), in the year 583, the great reformer Zoroaster passed away at the ripe age of seventy-seven.¹ His teaching excited the interest of the Greeks, who had already noted in the fourth century before our era its main conceptions of a conflict between good and evil powers, of the final victory of the good, of a general resurrection, of the abolition of Hades, and an immortality of happiness in an earth where universal intercourse would be facilitated by the levelling of all the mountains. The scriptures in which these ideas are embodied, known in Western Europe by the name *Zend Avesta*, have gathered round them the earnest study of a group of modern scholars whose labours have brought to light a series of

¹ *Zoroaster*, by Professor A. Williams Jackson, 1899, p. 127. There is, however, great difficulty in placing it so late.

doctrines of unexpected interest. In 1723 a manuscript was presented to the Bodleian, but the librarian could do nothing better with it than hang it by an iron chain upon the wall. A copy of a few leaves excited the zeal of a young French scholar in Paris, Anquetil Duperron, in 1754. The next year he secured a passage to India by entering himself as a sailor in the service of the French East India Company, and after nine years of adventure he returned laden with precious manuscripts, among which were the sacred books of the Parsees. In 1771 he boldly issued a translation of the Zend Avesta into French. No attempt, however, was yet made to publish the text. More than fifty years passed before the doubts with which Duperron's work had been assailed were finally cleared away by Rask's proof (1826) of the affinity of Zend with Sanskrit. The gifted scholar, Eugène Burnouf, devoted immense labour to the first edition of some of the sacred texts, and founded the philological study of the Avesta. The second half of the century has seen its

interpretation securely established, and the main lines of its doctrines clearly expounded. The deep ethical character of Zoroaster's teaching shows a moral intensity which at once wakens the sympathy of the student of the Old Testament; and he is startled at the appearance of ideas which he subsequently meets with in the later doctrines of the Synagogue. Such is the 'Good Mind,' a kind of Holy Spirit, who is conceived as one of six 'Immortal Holy Ones' around the throne of Ahura Mazda, 'the Lord all-wise.' Such is the angel of 'the kingdom,' another of the sacred group, concerning which we read 'the kingdom is Ahura's,' 'we praise the good kingdom.' To adopt the true religion is 'to give the kingdom to Ahura'; and again 'he gives the kingdom to Ahura who gives succour to the poor.' The details of the great scheme of the last things cannot be expounded here. They include the judgment following death, with its award to the successive heavens of Good Thought, Good Word, Good Deed, and the Home of Song or Endless Light, or to the corresponding hells of Evil Thought, Evil

Word, Evil Deed, and Endless Darkness—the final Resurrection and reunion of families beginning the great consummation or ‘Making the world go forward’—the overthrow of the powers of evil and the bringing back of hell for the enlargement of the world—when the world becomes immortal for ever and ever, and the believers attain to entire fellowship with their heavenly Lord. The doctrine of resurrection makes no definite appearance in the Old Testament till the Book of Daniel in the Maccabean age, where it is connected with the conception of the kingdom given to the saints. Did the Jewish hope of the last things owe anything to the older scheme? The movements of thought are necessarily obscure, and certainty is impossible; but the unquestionable affinities of the doctrine of the Synagogue with Persian ideas suggest the probability that unknown influences were early at work to stimulate the imagination of Israel along the lines of kindred expectation.

Darius Kodomannus was defeated by Alexander, B.C. 333, and Asia was opened to Greek influence, which can be traced even in

North-west India. Did that influence also affect Israel? Jews were transported in large numbers to Egypt, and Greek immigrants poured into Palestine. They built cities and temples; they introduced new manners; did they also bring any of the conceptions of the schools? When Zirkel asked this question apropos of the sayings of 'the Preacher' in 1792, the inquiry remained unfruitful; neither from the Hebrew nor from the Hellenic side could it be satisfactorily answered. But the study of Greek history, philosophy, religion, has made scarcely less progress during the past century than that which has been effected in less familiar fields;¹ and the study of the Bible has advanced in the same manner. It is now made probable that Greek influence may be discerned in the development of Wisdom in the Book of Proverbs; it is almost (if not quite) certain that it has shaped some of the phrases in Ecclesiastes. Remoter echoes of Orphic doctrines may perhaps be found in the

¹ The spade has been at last introduced into Greece, but not until Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Palestine had first proved its use.

by-ways of Jewish and early Christian faith about the destiny of the wicked in the next world. Much more important, however, is the transformation of primitive Christianity under Hellenic influence, and the share of Greek thought in enabling the Palestinian teaching to take its place as the dominant factor in the development of European life. The truth is that there are many elements in the Synoptic Gospels which have ceased to speak to the religion of the present day. We turn from the division of time into the 'age that now is' and 'the age that is to come' with all its elements of catastrophe and divine interference, and we rest in the Hellenic ideals of the world's order which nineteenth-century science has so strenuously enforced. We find that we can learn of Plato as well as of Paul, and we appreciate the large-mindedness of the Alexandrian Clement, when he said that if the Law had been a 'tutor' to bring the Jews to Christ, Philosophy had rendered the same service for the Greeks.

III.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

WHEN Demetrius Phalereus was librarian at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus in the middle of the third century B.C., he is said to have conceived the bold idea of making a collection of all the books to be found in the world. The Christian writers Eusebius and Epiphanius credited him with a special desire to gather the sacred books of the Ethiopians, Indians, Persians, Elamites, Babylonians, Assyrians, Chaldeans, Romans, Phœnicians, Syrians, and Greeks. The good fathers were doubtless led away by their rhetorical zeal in this wide enumeration. The idea which it represents, however, is an interesting one. In the light of the best

knowledge of the first centuries of our era, cultivated minds were well aware that some of the greatest doctrines of religion and morals existed in various forms among many races. So far was this fact from exciting apprehension, that it deserved rather to be welcomed with joy. The loyal disciple of Jesus could hail the truth wherever he saw it; 'whatever things have been rightly said among all men,' declared Justin the Martyr, 'are the property of us Christians.'

In the contraction of knowledge which followed the decline of the older Greek culture, and the erection of a rigid orthodoxy as a barrier of separation between the Church and the rest of the world, the broad and sympathetic outlook of early Christianity upon Gentile faiths was changed into hostility and mistrust. Not till the great movement of the eighteenth century for the liberation of the mind from ecclesiastical domination, indicated in the French Revolution on the one hand, and in German philosophy on the other, did a new attitude become possible. In this country, indeed, the supremacy of the Evan-

gelical party checked any great advance in this direction, though English scholars in India were fast bringing facts to light which were destined to have a most powerful influence on the popular theology. We have already seen how this century has witnessed the recovery of great collections of religious literature in Egypt and in Mesopotamia; it was reserved for the University of Oxford, under the persuasive guidance of Professor Max Müller, to surpass the effort of Demetrius, and put before the English-speaking race all round the world translations of the Sacred Books of the East, 1876-1900. One continent is the mother of them all: Arabia has its Korán, Persia its Zend Avesta, India and China their vast and varied aggregations of canonical scriptures. But from the Red Sea to the North Pacific Asia is their common home. What are the discoveries which have made such an achievement possible? A few words must suffice to indicate the great processes of modern scholarship.

I.

The Jesuit missionaries in India were the first to study the varieties of native speech, and to find out that behind the modern vernaculars lay an ancient tongue displaying astonishing resemblances to the languages of Southern Europe. The facts mentioned in their correspondence, however, attracted no attention, and it was not till English arms had established English government and brought English scholars into its service, that any real progress could be made. The first impulse was given by the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta in 1784, under the auspices of Sir William Jones, and a distinguished band of fellow-workers. In the next year appeared the first translation of the famous Bhagavad Gītā, the 'Divine Lay,' in which the spiritual philosophy of Brahmanism finds its most characteristic poetical expression. The *Asiatic Researches* rapidly made known the results of English inquiry into the ancient literature, the beliefs and usages, of the Hindus. Before long, however, the centre of interest was removed to

Europe, and Frederick Schlegel inaugurated the modern science of language by his work on *The Language and Wisdom of the Indians* in 1808. From that date Germany took the lead in philological study, the indispensable preliminary to historical investigation. The results for the classification of languages, and the ethnological theories dependent on it, do not properly belong to the field of comparative religion. But it was not unnatural that the concentration of attention on linguistic detail should have delayed the production of the sacred texts, and it was not till the first half of the century was all but complete that the first instalment of the *editio princeps* of the Rig Veda was published by Max Müller in 1849.

Everyone now has heard of these ancient hymns, sung by the Aryan fore-fathers of the Hindus, who entered India from the North-West. Everyone knows the outlines of the simple society to which they belonged, before caste in its modern form had appeared, or the claims of an exclusive hierarchy had been definitely established. And everyone knows

how the term Veda, which is simply 'knowledge,' came to cover a gigantic literature which grew up around the sacred hymns. Most important among these were three separate groups. First come the treatises (called *Brāhmaṇas*) recording the ritual of sacrifice, describing the proper ceremonial order, and setting forth the functions of different orders of priests. They are often full of tedious and minute detail; but they contain all kinds of mythical deposit gathering round the traditional rites; they set forth a mystical and unique theory of sacrifice; and they form an unrivalled collection of priestly lore. The layman's duty was expounded in books of sacred law, which supply precious materials for the study of social conditions in different parts of India. And the beginnings of philosophical speculation were comprised in certain treatises attached to some of the *Brāhmaṇas*, known as *Upanishads*, recording the 'guesses at truth' by men who had given up the householder's duties, perhaps even abandoned all tendance of the sacred fire, and gone forth into the forest to live the life

of the mendicant and devotee. Many of these works are now printed in Europe ; and specimens of all these different kinds of religious literature will be found in the *Sacred Books of the East*.

But these were only the beginnings. Out of the dim light of ancient tradition emerged colossal epics, depositories of manifold varieties of belief ; systems of philosophy, in which the utmost boldness of speculation contrived to shelter itself within the fold of Brahmanical orthodoxy ; and collections of imaginative detail about the constitution of the universe, and its perpetual processes of decay and renovation. Most interesting of all, perhaps, was the claim raised on behalf of the Vedic hymns that they were of infallible authority, and not only so, but that they were actually eternal. The particular poems, transmitted century after century by the long-established methods of Brahmanical teaching, were only copies of originals which dwelt everlastingly in a supersensual world. There they had been beheld by the 'seers' who first reproduced them on our earth, by

no process of literary composition, but by a kind of spiritual transmission from the archetypes above. It is a strange parallel to the faith which made the ideal essence of the Zend Avesta an object of the believer's adoration, or which affirmed that before God created the earth he looked into that Law which Moses afterwards gave to his people at Sinai. The doctrine of the inerrancy of the Veda and its transcendental existence was defended with arguments of singular subtlety in the name of philosophy. But when it was set beside a similar claim of infallibility on behalf of the Bible, did it not become apparent that both pretensions sprang out of common tendencies in the human mind, and that neither could establish itself in fact ?

II.

The chronology of India is notoriously confused, owing to the absence of any monumental evidence for its earlier periods, and the lack of historical sense in its literature. Trustworthy materials, however, are not

altogether wanting. The volume of the *Asiatic Researches* for 1801 contained a copy of an inscription on a pillar which had been carried to Delhi by Firuz Shah. By degrees some others in similar character were brought to light from different localities, and in 1838 Prinsep announced his discovery of the alphabet in which they were written, and read their contents. They were the famous inscriptions of Asoka, often designated the Constantine of Buddhism. The mention of contemporaries, an Antiochus, a Ptolemy, and other Greek princes, fixed their date in the middle of the third century, and a secure base was thus found for the early history of Buddhism, the records of which were just then for the first time made known. Colebrook had already directed his attention to the subject. As early as 1804 he had written to his father from India, 'I have lately obtained a considerable addition of authentic and important information on the religion and mythology of the Buddhists. Everything relative to a religion which has spread even more widely than the Christian or the

Mohammedan faiths, is particularly interesting. I shall employ the first moment of leisure I can spare to publish this curious information, which will elucidate the accounts before obtained in China, Japan, Siam, Pegu, Ceylon and Tibet.' Twenty years, however, were to pass before any important discovery was made. Then a young civilian, Mr. Bryan Hodgson (who died only a few years ago), during his sojourn in Nepal as assistant to the Political Resident, forwarded to Calcutta in 1824 no less than sixty MS. volumes containing some of the sacred books of Buddhism in Sanskrit. But the band of scholars which Sir William Jones had inspired a generation before, was now dispersed ; and it was not till 1882 that a distinguished Hindu Sanskritist, the late Rajendra Lal Mitra, described the collection. Others were despatched to London, where they were equally ignored. Only in Paris did a similar gift find a scholar who could appreciate it, and the great Eugène Burnouf by his translation of the *Lotus of the Good Law* opened the way into the heart of the advanced theistic Buddhism.

While Hodgson was working in Nepal, the adventurous Hungarian scholar, Csoma de Körös, travelled on foot into Tibet, and there disclosed the gigantic canonical aggregations of the Buddhism of Central Asia ; while Dr. Schmidt in 1830 reported from Mongolia that he had identified in that northern land translations of two hundred and eighteen Buddhist works named by Hodgson.

These treatises, however, were all of relatively late origin, and threw no real light on the origins of the faith. The next step in advance was to come from Ceylon. In 1837 the Hon. George Turnour published the Pāli text of the first thirty-eight chapters of the *Mahāvamsa* the 'Great Chronicle' of Ceylon. It related the early legendary history of the island, the establishment of its dynasties, the arrival of the Buddhist mission under Mahinda, son of King Asoka, and the conversion of the island to Buddhism. The picture of the religion of the Buddha given in this book was in marked contrast to that derived from the Sanskrit sources. It then became known that Ceylon also had

its sacred collection, entitled the *Three Pitakas* (or Baskets), and these began to attract the attention of a very able Wesleyan missionary, Dr. Gogerly. Another missionary, Mr. Spence Hardy, made a minute analysis of the Ceylonese representations of the Buddha and his teachings, but no one was found to undertake the laborious task of producing the Pāli texts themselves. At last a Danish scholar, Fausböll, of Copenhagen, took up the work. European investigators, however, were so busy over Sanskrit that they had no time for anything else. But in 1875 Professor Childers published his Pāli dictionary; four years later (under the auspices of the India Office and the Berlin Academy of Sciences) Professor Oldenberg began the publication of the *Vinaya Pitaka*, the guide to conduct for the Buddhist Order, and in 1881, at a Hibbert Lecture, Professor Rhys Davids announced the formation of the Pāli Text Society. The scholars of Europe have been roused at last, and the sacred books of early Buddhism (preserved also in Burma and Siam) will soon be completely transferred from their palm-leaves into print.

The study of Buddhism, when its full significance is seriously grasped, cannot fail to have a profound influence on our conceptions of Christianity. Five hundred years before our era the Teacher passed to and fro in the Ganges valley, proclaiming a way of life which would deliver men from the bondage of sin. Within a hundred and fifty years of his death the traditions about him appear to be substantially complete. He is miraculously conceived and wondrously born. On his name day a venerable Brahman predicts his future greatness. As he steps forth on his great quest of truth, the god of enjoyment tempts him from his search by a promise of imperial sovereignty. He preaches the establishment of a kingdom of righteousness, and sends forth his disciples two and two to carry his message among all classes of men. He, too, is a sower of the word. He, too, can tell of a treasure hidden in the field. He, too, can heal the sick, and feed five hundred brethren at once from a small basket of cakes. A disciple on his way to hear him finds that in the absence of a boat

he can walk across the surface of a river ; in the middle the waves affright him, and he begins to sink ; but he makes his act of joyful confidence in the Buddha firm, and proceeds securely to the other side. He is transfigured within three months of his death, which he predicts. And he does all this *as a man*. Early Buddhism is really a system of ethical culture ; and the conception entertained of its founder is strictly humanitarian. But by and by a change takes place. The details of the process are still obscure, though the general results are sufficiently clear.

By the aid of a theory which assumes the form of a kind of Messianic hope in the Pāli texts, he is identified with a being who appears in the schools of spiritual philosophy as the Self-existent, the Absolute, the Eternal. The historical Gotama, who was supposed to have passed out of existence altogether, who was never an object of worship, but only of devoted commemoration, is now regarded, four centuries or more after his death, as a temporary manifestation in an earthly form of the Infinite and Everlasting. He is accessible at all times

to his disciples, and the purpose of his self-revelation is that they may become partakers of his divine nature. Adoration is directed to him ; by prayer, by study of the scriptures, by meditation in holy places, the devout Buddhist enters into living communion with his heavenly Lord ; and the different experiences of the Evangelical and the Catholic Christian are reproduced in similar types *sub specie Buddhae*.

In this form Buddhism passes out of India into China, Mongolia, and Central Asia. In the long struggle with Brahmanism in its original home, its elder rival finally triumphs. But the Hinduism which holds the field after Buddhism has decayed, is very different from the religions which preceded its rise. The influence of the great personality of Gotama is everywhere apparent, in the development of new moral ideas. The conception of self-sacrifice for the good of others which pervades the whole story of the Buddha, often in such extravagant and fantastic shapes, is transferred (we know not by what steps) to Vishnu. He, too, becomes again and again incarnate

for the welfare of the world—an idea of which there is no trace in pre-Buddhistic Brahmanism. This receives its highest expression in the Bhagavad Gītā (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. viii.), which represents the new movement when Buddhism has declined. It preaches a doctrine of spiritual knowledge by faith; and in the person of Krishna offers to the believer an object of worship who is God made man, who condescends to clothe his majesty in sensible form, so that even the humblest may know and love him. Verily it is not surprising that it should have been supposed by some scholars that the author of the 'Divine Lay' was acquainted with the New Testament.

III.

In the year 1578 a young Italian Jesuit named Matthew Ricci arrived at Goa to complete his course of theology in preparation for missionary work in the East. Francis Xavier had already carried the cross to Japan, and in the year of Ricci's birth laid down his life upon the China shore. What Xavier had died for, Ricci accomplished. It was the

beginning of the labours which were to be so eventful for the Church, and to reveal some of the strange features of the Flowery Land. Ricci taught chemistry and mathematics as well as the Gospel; and he acquired such mastery of Chinese that his treatise in that language on 'The True Doctrine of God' had the honour of a place in a famous collection of the best Chinese works in 160,000 volumes! The studies which he prosecuted so successfully were maintained by his successors. While the English Church was engaged in driving out the Presbyterians in 1662, Father Da Costa was printing at Kian-chang-foo the first text and translation of the Confucian treatise entitled 'The Great Learning.' A quarter of a century later, in 1687, the three treatises, 'The Great Learning,' 'The Doctrine of the Mean,' and 'The Discourses and Conversations,' were published at Paris in Latin, under the title *Confucius Sinarum philosophus*,¹ *sive Scientia Sinensis Latine exposita*.

The characteristic teaching of the 'Middle

¹ Confucius is the Latinised form of Kong-fu-tse, or 'Philosopher Kong.'

Empire' thus found its way to Europe long before the treasures of Indian thought had been unsealed. The eighteenth century saw further effort in the same direction. In 1711 Father Noel produced at Prague a collection of extracts entitled *Philosophia Sinica*, containing passages from the most celebrated philosophers on three great topics, (1) the Supreme Being, (2) the Doctrine of the Spirit, and the ceremonies in honour of the dead, (3) human duty, from the point of view of the individual on the one hand, and the family and society on the other. Father Prémare compiled a Chinese-Latin dictionary; and Father Gaubil translated the first and most important of the Five Classics, the *Shu King*, or 'Book of Historical Documents.'¹ Other scholars toiled at description and history, so that an ample foundation was laid for the brilliant labours in the present century of Rémusat and Stanislas Julien at home, or of the British missionaries Morrison and Medhurst, Legge, Beal, and Edkins—to mention no other students—on the spot.

¹ Afterwards rendered again by Medhurst and Legge.

The name of Confucius (550-478 B.C.) is associated rather with ethics than with religion. He does not profess to be an innovator or reformer. He is supposed to have collected and edited the ancient records of the *Shu King* and the Odes of the *Shi*. The imperial religion still at this day reposes on its antique basis, the sublime order of the living Heaven and Earth, mythologically conceived as bound together in wedded union. Of this order the conscience of man, according to Confucius, was the reflex; every faculty had its normal use: in the recognition and fulfilment of this use lay the field of duty, whether personal or social. But he knew well the difficulties in the way. When he was asked by a disciple 'Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life?' he gave the famous answer 'Is not *reciprocity* such a word? What you do not want done to yourself, do not to others.' It has often been observed that this is only a negative form of the Golden Rule. But its positive application was in his mind, though his own consciousness of failure prevented

him from enjoining it on others, for he went on to add with sorrowful humility, 'There are four things to not one of which have I as yet attained. To serve my father as I would require my son to serve me, I am not yet able. To serve my ruler as I would require my minister to serve me, I am not yet able. To serve my elder brother as I would require a younger brother to serve me, I am not yet able. To set the example of behaving to a friend as I would require him to behave to me, I am not yet able.'

It was among the great services of the learned and genial Dr. Legge that in his splendid edition of the Chinese classics, he sketched some of the later phases of ethical philosophy among the successors of the Sage. On the one hand was the principle of Yang Chu, known as 'each for himself': on the other that of Mih Teih, 'loving all equally.' Why did thieves steal, and states make war? It was for want of mutual love. Were this practised, the strong would no longer prey upon the weak, the rich would not do despite to the poor, the deceitful would cease to

impose upon the stupid. But Mencius (or Mangtse, born in 371 B.C.) restored the Confucian doctrine in a manner somewhat more closely resembling Butler's conception of human nature; and ever since Confucius has held sway over Chinese thought, according to the well-known prophecy, in the proud character of a 'throneless king.' His reserve, however, concerning the higher conceptions of religion did not prevent the development of the venerable doctrine of the Personal Heaven into a real Theism. The singular controversy which broke out among the Protestant missionaries more than fifty years ago (in which Dr. Bowring took a prominent part along with Medhurst, Legge, and others), as to the most suitable Chinese equivalent for 'God,' brought a large quantity of evidence to light, proving the wide-spread theistic interpretation of the ancient texts. Not unfairly did the author of the first article in the *Mémoires concernant les Chinois* describe their religion as '*une Déisme avec quelques superstitions.*'

The scholarship of the past century has

done much to elucidate the Confucian doctrine, but it has done more to unveil the history and significance of the other two religions of China—Taoism and Buddhism. France led the way in Europe, but Great Britain on the spot. The Jesuit missionaries had already made acquaintance with the enigmatic little book entitled the *Tao-te King*, 'the Book of the Way and of Virtue,' ascribed to Lao Tse, the elder contemporary of Confucius. They delighted in finding anticipations of Catholic truth, and Father Amiot believed himself able to recognise in Lao Tse's teaching the three persons of the Trinity. To this book M. Rémusat devoted a famous memoir, in which he sought to prove that in the sixth century B.C. ideas were passing to and fro, so that the sacred name of Israel's God IHWH travelled across the continent, and was enshrined in the philosophy of the Far East. His pupil and successor in the Collège de France, M. Stanislas Julien, published the text with a translation in 1842, but the allusions to the Trinity and to the four holy letters were set

quietly aside. Instead, there appeared a collection of aphorisms, grouped around one central term, the Tao, the 'way' or 'path.' Others have translated it since (Legge's version will be found in the *Sacred Books of the East*, xxxix.), and some, like Mr. H. A. Giles, have expressed doubts of its authenticity; but there seems no reason to question that it substantially represents the philosopher's speculations, whether or not it issued in its present form from his own hands. The Tao has various aspects. Outwardly, it is the ordered 'way' which Nature treads upon her daily course. It is the sum of all the elements of the world's harmony, represented especially by the steady path of the heavenly bodies, the succession of the seasons, the permanence and regularity of the annual round. But whence does all this issue? Behind the visible Tao lies the Tao unnamed, unseen, unheard, the mysterious source whence all phenomena proceed. In this ancient presentation of the Absolute lies the ground of all things; and to know it and live according to it is the wise man's aim.

For it is ever silently working, a ceaseless energy pervading all nature, where everything fulfils its own law. Unhasting, unresting, uniform and constant, seeking nothing for itself, it produces, nourishes, supports, matures, completes, but it makes no claims and never vaunts itself. If all things, however, have a law of their being which it is their destiny to fulfil, what about man? He, too, is the organ of the Tao. Man takes his law from the earth, the earth takes its law from heaven, heaven takes its law from the Tao, and the law of the Tao is its being what it is. So Lao Tse reaches by a kind of philosophical intuition after the ultimate unity, revealed in heaven, earth, and man. Heaven and earth are the two great symbols which sum up the energies of the universe; they act without acting, for they do not interfere; they give each object, whether sun or star, stream, tree, or bird, opportunity to fulfil the inner purpose of its being. This is their impartiality, and man's conduct should be like it, he should have no personal ends. Looking at the grand order, then, Lao Tse

drew the same lesson which Jesus drew from the equal bounty of the sun and rain. 'Recompense injury with kindness,' he said. It was too hard doctrine for Confucius. 'What, then,' he asked, 'will you return for good? Recompense injury with justice, and return good for good.' That was not enough for Lao Tse's disciple, Chwang-tse. 'Mighty,' said he, 'is he who conquers himself. To the good I would be good: *to the not-good I would also be good in order to make them good.* Use the light that is in you to revert to your natural clearness of sight.'

The modern forms of Taoism have been degraded by an alliance with alchemy, begetting a fantastic quest for the philosopher's stone and the elixir of immortality; and the influence of Buddhism has further modified its original character. But its moral teaching has still many sound features, if we may judge by the very popular *Book of Rewards and Punishments*, translated first by Rémusat and then by Julien. It aims at producing a life of disinterested benevolence, and rebukes all selfishness, falsehood, and cruelty, with

stories illustrating all kinds of offences down to frightening birds asleep on trees, destroying their nests or breaking their eggs. The same type is presented in some of the legends of the gods, such as 'the High Emperor of the Sombre Heavens.' When he comes to the throne he begins by distributing the funds of the treasury among the poor and the homeless, the halt and the blind. At length, being perfected in goodness, he ascends to heaven to enjoy everlasting life. But he cannot abandon his people to sin and sorrow, and he descends to earth eight hundred times to become the companion of the common people and teach them the truth. Then he makes another series of eight hundred descents to heal the sick ; a third of similar number to exercise redeeming grace in the hells ; and a fourth to endure suffering patiently, and give his life again and again, that his pain may be a spring of joy and righteousness to many hearts. But here Taoism speaks with the voice of its sister religion, Buddhism.

Third of the religions of the Chinese Empire is the faith of the Buddha. Hardly

traceable in the Flowery Land before the year 67 A.D., its introduction was followed by a burst of missionary effort, when Hindus, Parthians, Huns, and men of various races, rich and poor, prince and mendicant, faced the enormous difficulties of travel 'moved by a desire to convert the world.' Then came the reverse journeys of the Chinese pilgrims with their precious records of observation in India, made known to us first by Rémusat and Julien, and subsequently in English by Beal and Legge. They traversed the great central deserts on the 'roof of the world,' they crossed the glaciers of the Himālaya to spend laborious years among the ten thousand students at the University of Nālanda, or in other centres of Buddhist learning, and slowly qualify themselves by the study of Sanskrit to convey the truth to their own people. The records of their labour are almost incredible, and the products of their industry are colossal. Nor was native composition neglected. The first Chinese catalogue of the sacred collection, dated 520 A.D., mentions as many as 2,213 distinct works. Between this date and 1737

no less than twelve revisions of the canon were effected under imperial order. The first printed edition, under the Emperor Thai-tsu, 960-975 A.D., required 130,000 wooden blocks (Chinese printing, like European, began without moveable type). To the edition of the eighteenth century the Emperor himself, following the example of some of his predecessors, contributed the Preface. The collection in the India Office Library contains 1,662 separate titles; and Dr. Edkins estimates the extent of the Chinese canon at 700 times the size of the Bible. The translation of one single Sanskrit group by Hiouen Tsiang (629-645 A.D.) is reckoned by Beal to contain eighty times as much as the whole New Testament.

It is difficult even for the most laborious scholar to thread his way through such gigantic labyrinths. Yet the glimpses which have been vouchsafed by Professor Beal on the speculative and devotional sides, and by Dr. Edkins on the practical, are in the highest degree suggestive. During the nineteen centuries of its existence in China, Buddhism has

been again and again opposed, and sometimes persecuted; it has again and again revived and reasserted its power. At the close of the thirteenth century, a census reckoned 42,318 temples. The second emperor of the present dynasty, Kang Hi (1661-1721), who varied his success in arms by devotion to literary and scientific study under Jesuit guidance, issued the famous 'Sacred Edict' in which Buddhism was bitterly denounced. This edict, it is said, is still in force, and is even read fortnightly at every new and full moon in the temple of the patron god of every Chinese city by the town-clerk, in presence of the local government officers.

It is part of the terrible decay of modern China that old forms are thus perpetuated when all their vitality has disappeared. Moreover, like other religions ranging through nearly two millennia, Buddhism in China has its sects, its reformers, its philosophical schools, its favourite devotions. There is the interesting type of Buddhist quietism, founded by Lo at the beginning of the European reformation. He would have no ceremonies or

outward show. His disciples chanted no prayers, burned no incense, lighted no candles, served no images : they sought to practise stillness of the interior life, and reverence for the all-pervading Buddha. There is again the subjective idealism which asserts that 'every phenomenon is the manifestation of mind,' and extricates itself from the difficulty that this leads to the doctrine 'that there is a true personal "I" diffused throughout the whole universe' by affirming the unreality of the world as we know it. The Buddha is the eternal self-subsisting Mind, and all exist only in and through him. There is in another field the devotion to Amitābha in the hope of attaining the Western Paradise, with its stress on invocation, meditation, and faith. There is the remarkable worship of Kwan Yin (the equivalent of the Sanskrit Bodhisattva named Avalokitesvara¹) with its solemn litany (1412 A.D.), its penetrating confessions of sin, and its prayers that all men may attain perfect wisdom, and every creature win deliverance

¹ Who vowed a mighty vow not to enter the final peace alone, but to continue being re-born, until even the worst beings in the lowest hells should be redeemed.

from the bondage of transmigration; and there are the strange rites of modern times on behalf of the dead, which are so generally performed that a modern observer has computed the annual cost throughout the Empire at no less a sum than £32,000,000.

The singular position of the three religions in China makes it difficult to determine the actual number of the adherents of each. The entire population is sometimes reckoned as Buddhist, for probably every family celebrates some Buddhist rites. But the state religion is Confucian, and the masses at least often join in Taoist practices. The fact is that the three are by no means regarded as mutually exclusive. When strangers meet, observed the Abbé Huc, it is the custom for each to ask his neighbour 'To what sublime religion do you belong?' The first is perhaps a Confucian, the second a Taoist, the third a disciple of the Buddha. Each then begins a panegyric on the religion not his own; after which they repeat in chorus 'Religions are many, reason is one, we are all brothers.' This view is not modern, it is

many centuries old. 'The teaching of the sects,' said Lu Shun Yang, a distinguished Buddhist scholar, 'is not different. The large-hearted man regards them as embodying the same truths. The narrow-minded man observes only their differences.'

The nineteenth-century student of Comparative Religion may think the declaration of the 'large-hearted' man a little premature. But he is unquestionably nearer the spiritual reality of that Wisdom which 'in all ages, entering into holy souls, maketh them friends of God, and prophets.'

IV.

Latest of all among the religions represented in the *Sacred Books of the East* is the religion of Mohammed. Alone among the great faiths of the world, it bears a name bestowed upon it by its founder, Islám, commonly interpreted as 'resignation' or submission to the will of God. To the pious Moslem, indeed, this equivalent often seems inadequate. The surrendered will of the believer is a will devoted to righteousness,

and the name gathers up into itself, therefore, the lofty aim of realising on earth the demands of heaven. These are set forth primarily in the Korán; with these in their hearts the fierce missionaries of the first days started on their conquering career. Twice has Islám been rolled back from the gates of Europe. It has spread from the shores of the Atlantic to the islands of the Malay Archipelago: it created centres of culture from Baghdad to Delhi or to Cordova: it is now gathering within its arms negroes from Western Africa, and dwellers in the Flowery Land of the far east. The revival of Moham-medan activity in the last century is one of the most striking features in the modern movement of the world's religions. How is it to be judged? Is it making for evil or for good?

The older view of the Prophet and his faith was naturally coloured by the pre-possessions of the Church which suffered at its hands the loss of some of its fairest provinces, and was afterwards brought into conflict with it by the Crusades. Through

the culture of Spain and its Arabian teachers Aristotle found his way into the mind of mediæval Europe ; and with philosophy came geometry and medicine. But the Prophet was the great antagonist of the Christ ; and a shudder ran through Christendom when Pope Gregory IX. charged the brilliant but rationalist prince, the Emperor Frederick II., with describing Moses, Jesus, and Moham-med as the 'Three Impostors.' That character long adhered to the founder of Islâm ; the Catholic writers after the conquest of Constantinople naturally emphasized it, and it probably still serves to point an occasional missionary's reproach. The scholars of the seventeenth century, however, unconsciously laid the foundations of a new judgment. The learned Pococke at Oxford began to publish the texts of the Arabian historians, his *Specimen* being one of the first two books issued from the University press in Arabic type (1648). Hottinger, of Zürich, was engaged in the same work ; a French consul in Egypt, Andrew du Ryer, translated the Korán into his native tongue ; while an

Italian priest, Maracci, sometime Confessor to Pope Innocent XI., published the original text with a Latin translation, explanatory notes, and refutations, at Padua in 1698; and later on Holland and Germany, in the persons of Reland and Reiske, added fresh materials to the learned store.

But Islám was still under the ban of the Church. D'Herbelot could find no better description for its founder than 'this famous impostor.' Humphrey Prideaux, another Oxford orientalist (afterwards Dean of Norwich), wrote an account of the prophet, the clue to which is indicated in the title, *The True Nature of Imposture Fully Display'd in the Life of Mahomet*, 1697. The book could hardly fail to be dull, and it is not surprising that the bookseller to whom he offered the work should have remarked that he 'could wish there were a little more humour in it!' Very different was the judgment of George Sale, whose famous translation of the Korán was issued in 1734, and supplied the basis for the next century of English knowledge. To Voltaire, indeed, the

prophet's utterances seemed nothing but a 'collection of ridiculous revelations'; and Mohammed himself was only a 'sublime charlatan.' The French free-thinker preferred the more restrained style of Confucius, who only employed reason, claimed no heavenly inspiration, and used neither lies nor the sword. A somewhat similar condemnation pervades the article in Bayle's Dictionary (translated into English under the name of the *General Dictionary* by Bernard and others, vol. vii., 1737), which supplies an elaborate and still entertaining survey of the futilities of ecclesiastical prejudice, and (it must be added) the follies of Mohammedan invention. But France was again making a contribution to more serious appreciation through the labours of Gagnier who became Professor of Arabic at Oxford in 1724; and Gibbon brought the genius of order into the miscellaneous confusion of available materials, and devoted a splendid chapter to the origin of Mohammedanism from the point of view of 'rational enthusiasm.'

It remained for the nineteenth century to

reach a juster presentation. The signal was given to England on May 8th, 1840, when Carlyle first read his Lecture on 'The Hero as Prophet.' He took Mohammed out of the atmosphere of religious prejudice, and in a single sentence—'Belief is great, life-giving'—vindicated the sincerity of his teaching. Six years later, a young Anglican theologian, Frederick Denison Maurice, when the Church was still in the distresses of the Tractarian troubles, bravely discoursed of *the Religions of the World*, and argued that the spread of Islám was a witness to the reality of the providential judgment of the nations: 'It was a mercy of God that such a witness, however bare of other supporting principles, however surrounded by confusions, should have been borne to His name, when His creatures were ready, practically, to forget it.' Yet neither of the two best authorities on Mohammed's career, both of them profound students of the earliest sources (recovered for the first time from Indian libraries by the devoted labours of one of them, Sprenger) could reach so elevated a conception. Muir

(1861) not obscurely ascribed Islám to the agency of Satan; and Sprenger, opposed equally to the diabolic theory of Muir and the individualistic interpretation of Carlyle, affirmed that the new religion 'sprang out of the needs of the age,' while the prophet's own share was explained from the physical conditions induced by *Hysteria Muscularis*!

Subsequent study, the growth of wider religious ideas, the gradual deliverance of historical judgment from ecclesiastical prejudice, the better comprehension of the intellectual and moral atmosphere in which Mohammed lived, the perception of the significance of Arabian culture for European civilisation,—have all contributed to modify the verdicts of an earlier day. The labours of a brilliant band of scholars, including (among others) the names of Caussin de Perceval, Weil, von Kremer, Dozy, Noeldeke, Wellhausen, Palmer, Stanley Lane-Poole, have reconstructed the history of Islám, and brought into clear light the person of its founder. No one now raises the foolish charge of imposture. Opinions may vary as

to the relative importance of elements of political reform and religious motive in Mohammed's career. But of the sincerity of his primal impulses, the force and charm of his character among his own people, his power to inspire devoted allegiance in minds of very different types, no serious student has now any doubts. We know by this time that whatever may be the temporary effects of illusion, religions live and spread by the truth at their core, not the errors inevitably entangled in their first announcement. And we know also that however simple, or even monotonous, the message of Islám may seem, it is in itself sublime; it is urged with impassioned faith; and it does not present under its surface the same aspect of monotony which the student at first anticipates. It is founded on conceptions that reach back through Christianity into the Old Testament, and Mohammed is the successor of Abraham, Moses, and Christ. Much of its teaching is only a restatement of old truths with fresh force. Elements of popular belief and usage have been in due course incorporated into it

from divers sources, just as others, older still, lived in it from its very outset. It has begotten a multitude of sects : it has allied itself with philosophy : it has accommodated itself to the most varied phases of spiritual culture, from the antique superstitions of an Egyptian fellah to the refined mysticism of the Sufis of Persia : it has had its tendencies to rationalism, or its excesses of reforming zeal. But it has always been true to the first article of its creed, 'There is only one God,' and this faith it has proclaimed with a fiery zeal, often with a majesty of language and conviction, which has won for it more than two hundred millions of believers, and established it triumphantly in three continents.

And this advance is still active. The impression of some superficial observers that Islám is dying of formalism, or is stricken with decay like that beneath which some of its greatest historic buildings seem crumbling away, is not supported by the indisputable evidence of its progress among races of very different origin, history, and social organisation. The Wahhábi movement has carried

it in triumph through half Africa, where some eighty millions out of the two hundred occupying the Dark Continent are now gathered under its sway. The simplicity and strenuousness of its faith, the plainness of its ethical standards, the deep sense of brotherhood which it inspires, all make it a powerful agent for good among the negroes who rise above their fétichism when they embrace it. But these elements operate no less upon the mingled races of India, where caste disappears before the Mohammedan missionary, and the traditions of Hinduism fade in the light of Allah's name. The increase in the number of Mohammedans far exceeds the natural growth of the population. The last census (1901) shows an advance of more than five millions on the figures of ten years before (1891, 57 millions; 1901, nearly 62½). In China the rate of progress is believed to be even more rapid. In 1892 the Mohammedans were estimated at 30 millions; ten years later good observers reckon between 30 and 40 millions, chiefly in the North and West. Such is the growing

power of Islám in the midst of the Confucian tradition. Its missionary energy carries it steadily forwards; and neither the State cultus nor the outworn forms of Buddhism can prevent its extension.

How far such movement may ultimately spread, it would be premature to forecast. Can Islám make terms with modern culture, and harmonise its teaching with the science and thought of the West? That is the effort, for example, of an accomplished writer like Syed Ameer Ali, whose *Spirit of Islám* (2nd ed. 1896) presents the significance of Mohammedanism in its most attractive form. It may be doubted how far the higher teachings of the seers and sages who recognise a common divine element in all religions can ever acquire the expansive force which has once more quickened the followers of the Prophet. Distinguished modern writers have hoped for a union of the forces of Judaism, Christianity, and Islám, in a faith that should transcend the limitations of the Synagogue, the Church, and the Korán. A basis for such hopes is not wholly lacking in the

youngest of the three. The sayings of the early mystics abound in lofty utterances of a religion in which formalism is replaced by love, and the spirit of sect melts into sympathy with all pure trust and holy endeavour. 'O God,' said Rabia al-Adawíyya, 'if I worship thee for fear of hell, send me to hell. And if I worship thee in hopes of paradise, withhold Paradise from me. But if I worship thee for thine own sake, then withhold not from me the eternal beauty.' 'Glory be to God,' exclaimed Sufyán ath-Thawrí, 'who slays our children, and takes away our wealth, and whom withal we love.' To such souls all high fellowship should be open. From outward rites, from stated prayers and consecrated fasts, the poet of the *Masnavi* rises to the noble declaration :—

'The only true mosque is that in the hearts of saints.
The mosque that is built in the hearts of the saints
Is the place of worship of all, for God dwells there.'

This is the language of the Spirit, and Islám has never lacked it. 'Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men.' If the great historic religions can ever meet, it must be

on these heights of insight and piety, where the divisions of creeds are left behind, and the pride of race and tradition has been purged away. Who will help them to climb the mount of vision? Let us try to take the first steps towards truth and humbleness, simplicity and love.

IV.

THE PLACE OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD.

THE last century, as everyone knows, has witnessed the rise into historic view of an immense panorama of religions. Whole sacred literatures have come to light. They have been discovered in the temples and the tombs of Egypt; they have been dug up from the mounds of Mesopotamia; they have been gathered from the immense libraries of India, China, and Tibet. The significance of religion as a factor in social evolution has been forced on the attention of the students of human things. It is no longer possible to thrust it aside as a device of priests for their own maintenance, or an

invention of cynical statesmen for the police of empires ; it has its rightful place among the forces of thought which have shaped the organisation of life. Whatever be the explanations of its origin, and they are many, no one will deny that it is a part of the mind's own interpretation of its relations to the world of its experience ; and the development of religion from its lowest to its highest forms is always in some way connected with the intellectual and moral outlook of the community or the individual in which any specific expression of religion may take shape.

I.

The result for the student is inevitable. It is his duty to investigate the conditions under which each new type of faith arises, to ascertain (so far as he can) the causes which have moulded its beliefs, created its moral standards, and defined its institutions. He must take account of the elements contributed on the one hand by the society around—the common medium of thought

and conduct—or, on the other hand, by the personality of the teacher. Whatever method, standard, and presuppositions he applies to one, must be employed with equal faithfulness for all. Religions as historical products must be judged in the same way as the other great creations of the human spirit—law, poetry, art. The ultimate explanations may be beyond our reach. I do not think it possible to account for Amos or Isaiah, any more than for Æschylus and Sophocles. There are mysteries of personality which we cannot fathom. In a certain family at Nazareth who can tell why Jesus was Jesus, and James and Joses were—well, James and Joses? But we must investigate the origins of Christianity in the same way as we should study the origins of Buddhism, even though Gotama the Buddha and Jesus the Christ, with all their ethical likeness, stand at the opposite poles of religious faith. This view has yet indeed to secure definite recognition. The *General History of Religion*, by Dr. Conrad von Orelli, of Basel (1899), assigns to Christianity less than two pages out of 848; while

the brilliant treatise of your distinguished fellow-countryman, Professor Chantepie de la Saussaye, of this city,¹ which at once takes the foremost place in this field (second edition, 1897), includes in the Semitic group the Babylonians and Assyrians, Syrians, Phœnicians, Israelites, and then leaps suddenly to Islam. Where is Christianity? Apparently it has no place at all in the history of religion. It was born in a vacuum; it grew up in the sanctuary. It was the merit of Ewald half a century ago to insist that Christianity must be treated in relation to the people of Israel, so that whatever theological account might be given of its founder, its historical continuity with the older faith should not be broken. Only thus can the true principles of enquiry and judgment be maintained.

Now, among the various products of the past, the Bibles of antiquity have been brought to light. I pass by the dim collections, such as those traceable in the history of Greece and Rome, which failed to

¹ This address was delivered at Amsterdam, September, 1902, at a meeting of the International Council of Unitarian and other Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers.

secure canonical recognition. Among religions still living we are confronted with the claims raised on behalf of the Hindu *Veda* as inerrant and eternal; of the Buddhist *Dhamma* to be the veracious record of the words of an omniscient Teacher; of the sacred law within the Zend Avesta to be the utterance of Vohu Mano, the 'Good Mind' of Ahura Mazda, 'Lord All-wise'; of the Korán to be the very word of Allah revealed to his prophet, the earthly reproduction of a heavenly book. These faiths are all analogous to that which gathered round the Christian Bible, and led a well-known Oxford theologian as late as 1861 to declare the Bible 'none other than the word of God, not some part of it more, some part of it less, but all alike the utterance of Him who sitteth upon the throne, faultless, unerring, supreme.' The collapse of this doctrine under the methods of historical criticism has, from another point of view, brought Christianity into line with the great faiths which divide with it the allegiance of hundreds of millions of our fellow-men. In so far

as it reposes on the authority of a Scripture, its credentials must be examined with the same fearless patience which has been so faithfully bestowed upon the other deposits of the past. The result has been to reduce their claims to supernatural origin to a common level, and to declare that their permanent value must be sought in the measure to which they can be verified by our experience. 'Whatever finds me,' said Coleridge, 'bears witness that it has proceeded from a Holy Spirit.' Harmony with our best thought and feeling must in the long run determine their acceptance.

II.

No student can thread his way, however imperfectly, amid the vast and shadowy structures of Hindu thought, without discovering much that 'finds' him.¹ At the outset he is confronted with the subtle doctrine of Karma, or 'the deed.' It may be

¹ In the following paragraphs attention is directed only to the earlier historic forms of Hinduism. It is of course impossible in a few sentences to deal with more than the most obvious aspects of the complicated structures of Hindu thought.

expressed most briefly in the words of the Apostle Paul: 'Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.' It presents the universe as pervaded by a self-acting energy, which ensures that each one amid its mighty hierarchy of beings, from the topmost heaven to the lowest hell, shall always and everywhere get precisely what he deserves. The entire scene of our existence is compassed by one unerring law of Right; and absolute justice rules the mighty tissue of events which knits together the life of the meanest insect through a summer day and the unwearied courses of the stars. The operation of this justice nothing can alter, modify, or impair. Theories of satisfaction or atonement do not flourish upon Indian soil. The law of Karma abides unchanged, while worlds arise and perish; and after the great dissolutions which periodically recur, it summons new heavens and a new earth into being, to work out the unexhausted potencies of merit or of guilt. Here is a conception of tremendous power. Under its sway uncounted millions have reposed for a hundred

generations with unquestioning trust. They have accepted with patience the anguish of famine or disease or death. Each stroke of pain chastised some secret sin. No problem of evil laid its dark burden on the imagination. Grant but the doctrine of the Deed, and the whole mass of suffering, human and even animal, is at once justified; all suspicion of arbitrariness or accident is barred; and the shadows of cruelty, caprice, or impotence, pass from the brightness of the shining day.

It is a superb and satisfying explanation of one aspect of life. It has produced resignation, but it has stifled joy. The literature of India will be searched in vain after the Vedic age for anything analogous to the book of Job on the one hand, or the hundred and fourth Psalm on the other. Karma may be capable of reconciliation with modern science, though that has yet to be proved; but it can inspire no worship, and it can beget no love. The great philosophical systems—of which six finally established themselves as orthodox—had for their purpose to extricate the believer from the weariness and suffering

involved in the perpetual series of births and deaths. The non-theistic teachings of Buddhism, Jainism, and the Sāmkhya scheme, which at one time powerfully engaged the Indian mind, preached a way of deliverance through different forms of intellectual or moral culture. Conceived theistically, the doctrine of Karma was soon allied with the sublime being of Brahmā, who in one aspect might be regarded as God, 'Father of all creatures,' the providential arbiter of the lot of all beings in each successive existence under the law of the Deed. It thus gave absolute stability to the divine character, of which it was in some sort the essence; and in the systems in which 'grace' has been a prominent doctrine, it averted the gloom of injustice or favouritism.

But Indian thought in the manifold forms of Hindu pantheism has lacked real missionary force. Its religion, on the institutional side, has never escaped out of the bonds of custom and caste, and priesthood by race is not favourable to an apostolate which might break down the bonds of

immemorial tradition. And its higher theism has never allied itself with social or national life. India has never been anything but a geographical expression. No seer ever ascribed to it a personality which could claim its place among the peoples as the first-born, or (more exalted still) the bride, of any of its unifying figures, such as Prajāpati or Brahmā. Nor did any thinker ever analyse the grounds of its life in family or state. There were clans and kingdoms, but a Plato or an Aristotle was lacking to expound their inner ideas and constitution. The clash of interest and the variety of achievement never suggested to prophetic vision the idea of progress, or lifted within sight of its loftier minds (as in Israel) the conception of a world-purpose in which the evil should be worked out and disappear, while humanity (or even a portion of it) should march forward to a goal of good, and the peoples of the earth should be gathered in one fellowship of trust and peace. Profound as are the glimpses opened by the great teachers of the Vedānta¹ into

¹ I name the Vedānta as the chief type of philosophy still

a life of God withdrawn in inaccessible bliss behind the world-illusion which we see, these high conceptions possess no social force. The scene of our human relations is no more than a dream, 'true' (as Sankara said, before Tennyson) 'while it lasts.' So far is this from really revealing God, it is the great barrier to our advance towards the inner knowledge. The ties, the duties, the responsibilities, the gifts, the energies, the affections, in which Christianity sees, on the scale of the family, the image of the soul's kinship with the Father, or, on the field of man's progress, the realisation of an organic unity in God,—these must be disowned, ere you can enter on the higher life. The philosophical methods for realising the ultimate identity of the phenomenal self with the eternal ground of all existence, rest upon intellectual processes, rather than the authority and demand of the moral life. The ancient insights of the Upanishads do not fall into the moulds of Hebrew prayer, 'Search me, O active. The later Nyāya of Udayanāchārya (about 1200 A.D.) worked out a type of theistic doctrine more akin to some forms of Western thought.

God, and know my heart, try me and know my thoughts, and see if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting.' The approach to the problems of the self and God follows the way of ontological speculation instead of the path of ethical recognition of a higher law, or spiritual affection seeking its ideals of truth, beauty, or goodness. In one sense God is identified with the cause of the world: in another, the world must be renounced ere he can be known. You may have a profound theory of knowledge; but the formula of final identity with the Absolute, *tat tvam asi*, 'that art thou,' brings no help to the struggling will. For the Absolute has no interest in the phases of our strife; it does not sustain the tried, or comfort the sorrowing. No Hindu Paul has ever cried 'I can do all things in him that strengtheneth me.'¹ Only as we get away from the conflicts and battles of our daily trial, as we withdraw from each other to sink into the deeps of being, do we come

¹ The nearest approach to this order of conceptions is perhaps to be found among the worshippers of Vishnu.

nearer to the hidden Unity, and comprehend that we too are one with the Universal Self, and our souls are folded within the Soul of souls. *There*, indeed, is a realm of abiding joy; but to reach it the whole sphere of our common life must first have been dismissed as unreal; and when it is attained, all personal distinction is lost. This is the secret of contemplation. It is the support of the mystic, it feeds the passion of the devotee. It has nurtured arduous of piety; it has even begotten innumerable movements of reform; but they have passed like waves upon the sea, and the immense stability of the priestly order has remained unmoved. Hinduism still lives, with a marvellous and self-renewing life. It has, however, no dreams of conquest; it is heedless of the lands beyond its ken. It is wholly destitute of intellectual curiosity, and holds aloof entirely from modern science. It has no conception of the unity of the race. It can never aspire to bind the nations into one polity of faith, or rule the world with an imperial sovereignty of thought.

III.

None of the sages or the saints of Hinduism, and they have been many, has ever become a permanent and general centre of religious trust. It was otherwise, however, with Gotama the Buddha. He appears in history as the opener of a path of life. He initiates a discipline which we may describe in modern terms as a system of ethical culture, and he seeks by it to deliver men from a scene of suffering, caused by lack of knowledge and consequent guilt. He is the great preacher of perfect holiness as the way of escape from an existence that lies under the doom of decay and death. This is a universal human object. It knows no limitations of caste or race; it can be proclaimed in every language and announced in every land. The immense passion of pity and love which filled the Teacher's soul is communicated by him to the Order which he establishes. It is supported by his personal example, which is extended by the theory of the Buddhahood through a long series of antecedent lives all solemnly devoted to this

end—the preparation by unwearied efforts of self-denial, patience, forbearance, charity, for the hour when he should be ready to lift off from the world the veils of ignorance and sin. Two elements are here combined with remarkable power. There is the actual initiative communicated by the founder, with a well-established historic tradition of a long life of devoted activity, preceded by a succession of ideal biographies all bearing to one end. And there is the immense scope of an aim which was regarded as comprising more than man. Tier after tier of heavenly powers rises above the earth, subject to the same ultimate law of dissolution ; and these, too, need the Teaching to wean them from their pride of life, and impart the insight into the higher truth. The splendid sweep of this conception knit all the realms of being into one fellowship, and set before the Buddhist missionary a summons and a purpose of which his master had given him the supreme and abiding type. When the great missions were first organised under Asoka (soon after 250 B.C.), the Emperor's own son Mahinda went to Ceylon ;

and the Singhalese chronicler, reciting the wide dispersion, adds, 'As the All-merciful Conqueror renounced his own blessedness, so these renounced the happiness they had won, and in this place and that toiled for the world's welfare: *for when the world's welfare is concerned, who would be slothful or indifferent?*'

It would be interesting to show, did time permit, how this idea reacted in turn upon the conception of the Founder. In taking over from Brahmanism the doctrine of the Deed, the law of Karma, Gotama also adopted much of the cosmology through which it was expressed. The world had its periods of growth and decline, its cosmic ages and their inhabitants, its recurring appearances of earlier Buddhas. Were all these isolated and detached? Had they all passed away and ceased to be? Did no connection bind them into one order? Did nothing more unite them than a common purpose for the good of men? Gotama had begun by rejecting all ontological conceptions. He would say nothing of the infinite and absolute. He

explained consciousness scientifically without the assumption of a soul, and the universe without the hypothesis of a God. But metaphysic always has a way of revenging itself for its exclusion. Some centuries after the founder's death, there arose a school which began to interpret the Buddha's person in terms of an everlasting substance. He was regarded as the *svayambhū*, the Self-Existent, the Eternal. The series of previous Buddhas were readily explained as his manifestations. Again and again did he enter the world, taking on him the semblance of humanity, to be the healer of men's sicknesses, their deliverer from their sins. The historic Buddha, once the sole figure in the disciple's faith, was no object of worship, no centre of communion. But the everlasting Buddha watches over all creatures in all spheres. He is the support of men's frailty, the enlightener of their blindness, the compassionate ruler, Father of the world, and to him arise the vow and prayer, temples are founded, and litanies are sung. This was the type of Buddhism which drew the long procession of pilgrims from the

Flowery Land through incredible dangers, across the snows of the Himâlaya, or by hardly less perilous routes over the eastern seas. To realise this they toiled with life-long devotion in the great schools of India. They pored over Sanskrit texts, and created the gigantic canons of China and Tibet. But the missionary impulses of Buddhism have long since died away. Early tradition represented the Master as seeing clearly that a period of inertness and decline would inevitably follow the energy and devotion of the first days. The Buddhism of China which has so profoundly transmuted the ancient popular religion based on the Confucian texts, has had its eras of reform, its protests against unspiritual worship, its efforts of rationalism and simplicity, its attempts to realise a philosophic mysticism. It is stricken now with the colossal decrepitude which makes the tragedy of the great empire where it once was mighty. A little band of the faithful has recently sought at Calcutta to revive the ancient zeal. It is too late. Other forces have entered the field, Buddhism and Western

culture cannot be maintained together. The Western scholar will study Buddhism for its profound intellectual and moral interest. He will investigate its origins and its transformations: he will examine its legends; he will admire much of its ethical teaching; he will follow its efforts after social and political reform in the person of Asoka, or its splendid enterprises of apostolic toil. But he will perceive that its view of life cannot be combined with modern knowledge; and he will be convinced that the future of religion (if he admits that it has a future) must be sought elsewhere.

IV.

These brief comparisons (which there is no need to continue into Islám) must suffice to help us to fix the place of Christianity. At the outset a word must be said about its connection with general history. No other religion has had a similar career. No other religion has passed through so many phases, or embodied itself in such varied products. It is born in Palestine. Its roots lie deep in the history of a small Semitic people; the

scene of its nativity is wholly remote from the aids of culture, wealth, and power. But it is very early carried forth into the world of Hellenic ideas and Roman law. It becomes heir to an empire. It establishes itself on the civilisation of a vast secular order; and, when that decays, it receives new vigour through alliance with the Teutonic peoples. Architecture and art became its handmaids. Poetry and music exalt it. It awakens new ideals, and shows an extraordinary capacity for developing saints. It is quickened afresh by contact with the Greek mind, as Aristotle is brought within the precincts of the Church. It is planted beyond the sea by the great missions, and gradually extends its arms all round the globe. The corruption of its hierarchy is arrested by the shock of the Reformation; a new outlook is gained over fresh fields of thought; new types of life can still arise; eras of languor follow, but it revives once more in the nineteenth century with unexpected might, flies over continents, and wins homage in every zone from pole to pole. The noblest European literatures are

permeated with it ; philosophies delight to bring themselves into accord with its teachings ; it endeavours to assimilate the last great product of the human spirit—modern science ; and it is preparing itself to conquer new fields, and claim that its ethical ideals shall sway and regulate the relations of men as they have never done before. The alliance of Christianity with so many phases of social affairs, its union with so many forms of intellectual and moral energy, its power to create or vivify huge organisations of worship, discipline, philanthropy, its influence over the most progressive nations who have given their best endeavours to sustain it at home and diffuse it abroad,—combine to raise it, considered solely as a historical phenomenon, to the highest eminence among the world's religions.

And to what, may we ask, is all this due ? Historically, the greater part of the triumphs of Christendom have been won under the shelter of the Church. The Catholic Church, whether Greek, Roman, or (as many English theologians would insist on adding) Anglican,

is the depositary of Christian truth, the vehicle of Christian grace, the nourisher and sustainer of the Christian life. When the claims of the Church were disputed, the Bible was offered in its place. But we now know that our Bible constitutes but one division in the Greater Bible of the human race, and the claim raised on its behalf to sole authority as an infallible organ of revelation has been finally disproved. When Christianity is studied by the historical method, what do we find? Apart from the living force of the personal appeal made by apostles and saints, martyrs and missionaries, apart from the superb conviction and impassioned energy of Paul, we see the life and teaching of Jesus presented through the medium of ideas which have ceased to belong to our present thought. Yet it was to these ideas—so far as they can be separated from the individual influences just named—that Christianity owed its first successes. They are grouped in the New Testament around three foci.

In the first place, the complex elements of the Messianic expectation are centred in

the conception of Jesus as the destined judge of all the world, to return from heaven in clouds of glory, and usher in the awful day of the wrath of God. It was the overpowering force of this expectation which carried Paul in breathless haste along the Mediterranean from city to city, and made his voice ring out to his friends at Philippi across the waters from his Roman prison, 'the Lord is at hand.' And it was the immense scale of the impending catastrophe which evoked the bewildering questions about the place of the Gentiles in the providential order with which the Apostle wrestles, and the no less bewildering arguments by which he solves them. The result of delay was the growth of a Church with the authority of the keys. The attempt made in the Fourth Gospel to transform the conception of the Messianic salvation into a mode of inward life did not dislodge the earlier type from Christian imagination. The Second Advent was indefinitely postponed, and became an article of faith embodied in a creed. That creed was the creation of the Church, it was enforced by its authority, it

rested on its guarantee, and the Church was based on the original acceptance of Jesus as Messiah.

In the second place, there arose new interpretations of the person of Jesus, as the Messianic Son of God was brought into relation on the one hand with the Jewish world of heavenly powers, and on the other hand with Greek theories of God, the universe, and man. The seven heavens rising above the sky, filled with mysterious hosts both good and evil, have all vanished. The speculations concerning the Man from heaven occupy us no more. Doctrines of pre-existence, the ideal types which, in the *Secrets of Enoch*, lean in one direction towards the Persian *fravashis*, and in the other to the Platonic ideas, do not now hold our thought. The notion that creation itself was somehow involved in the fall, and yearned for escape from corruption and decay, cannot be harmonised with our present science. Nor does the Greek presentation of the Word prove more congenial, save when it is stripped of the elements which gave it specific power,

and generalised into universal application. The different forms of Kenotic Christology in which modern theologians take refuge, are sufficient proof that whatever may be their reconciliation with the creeds, the records of the humanity of Jesus in the earlier Gospels can no longer be ignored.

And thirdly, the official religion of both Jew and Gentile was based on sacrifice. This was the supreme function of all ritual, the centre of every cult. Ideas of mediation, ransom, propitiation, quickly gather round Messiah's death. They have ceased to be vital for us now; they no longer constitute the framework of our faith, as they did for the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. We have, indeed, to beware that in discarding them we do not part with something which has still a value for us. I may not pause now to ask what new lights are thrown on ancient faith by the gradual transformation of the narrower individualism into the more social aspects of our common life. But it is at least clear that the roots of New Testament doctrine lie in modes of access to

the Deity through altar and priesthood, which the religion of Jesus has done away for ever.

V.

What, then, remains when all these elements are withdrawn? The answer is simple, yet to many sufficient, there remains Jesus himself. It was the fashion of a generation or two ago to describe Christianity as the 'absolute religion,' whether on the field of the Hegelian dialectic, or (with Theodore Parker, for example) on the foundation of the ancient commandments interpreted in their universal sense as love to God and love to man. For us, assuredly, it is impossible to conceive a simpler, deeper, or more all-embracing truth. It is undoubtedly the case that Jesus took his stand upon the common religious experience of his people. He did not, like Gotama the Buddha, deny the authority of the Scriptures, reject the rites of the cultus, repudiate the functions of the hierarchy, or dissolve away the fundamental conceptions of the soul and God. Nor was he called like Mohammed to engage in a

polemic against idolatry, which he might justify by proving himself the inspired messenger of the only God. He appeals everywhere to familiar ideas; he coins no new terms; he shows no consciousness that he is founding a new religion. In his outlook on life, the directness and immediacy of his approach to God, he follows, but at a loftier moral height, the later Psalmists, who had helped to plant in the heart of their people the truths attained by the succession of the prophets. That is what determines his attitude to the Law in which the Jew found his special privilege. Israel might be politically subject, but it was providentially elect; and the mark of the divine choice was found in the covenant at Sinai. We know from the history of the early Church what efforts were required to break down this limitation. Jesus appears to have transcended it at once through the spontaneousness of his own religious life, his confidence in God, his trust in human nature. To the Father in heaven the access is direct for all; and the religious aim of Jesus, stated in modern language,

seems to be to place all men in that relation of sonship in which he stands himself.

It is, however, claimed for Jesus that he is not one master among many, but *the* Master¹; his religion is 'the religion,' or, as we might say, religion itself, final and complete. If this plea be preferred as a reason for neglecting the study of other great manifestations of the religious consciousness, because India or China can teach us nothing, it is plainly inconsistent with the point of view from which I have spoken. If it means that we are to turn our backs on Plato and ignore Wordsworth, it must be again disowned. If it implicitly affirms that no seer to come may rise to still greater heights of insight or character, once more it must be rejected, for we cannot employ the achievements of the past to limit the possibilities of the future. But there is a sense in which the disciple finds the Master sufficient for him. We sometimes hear the well-intentioned exhortation from those who are weary of party

¹ Harnack, *Die Aufgabe der Theologischen Facultäten und die Allgemeine Religionsgeschichte*, 1901, p. 16.

strife and sectarian divisions that we should return to the Christianity of Christ. It is a pious aim, but it can never be attained. I do not mean that we can never put ourselves back into the contracted world on which Jesus gazed, that we can never again content ourselves with his intellectual position. That is the inevitable result of the expanding process of knowledge, but it does not touch the secret of the matter. The fact is that the 'Christianity of Christ' never existed. Jesus, verily, had a religion. But the religion of Jesus is not identical with the Christianity of Christ. For the religion of Jesus broke on his soul with open vision of the Father. It rested on no historic tradition, though it had grown up beneath one. It did not depend on the realised experience of predecessors, however it might be linked in his practice or his speech with the forms and institutions of his countrymen. But the 'Christianity of Christ' is known to us primarily only through Jesus. We receive it first as religion personally exemplified in him. It may be through the influences of the home, or the teaching of

the church, or the study of the Gospels ; but into the sanctuary where Jesus stood we come first of all with him.

There, indeed, he leaves us as we pass within, or he kneels by our side, and says ' Our Father.' We can only learn through higher holier souls. They are all around us, they help us on our daily way. It is the universal service of the pure and ardent to communicate their vision and inspire their trust. The Christian feels that Jesus is the most enduring help of all. But who helped him ? Jesus could not be his own Christ. That personal element of reliance in times of weakness or sorrow on the strong support of some brother soul, did he find it in the ancient records of his race, when he said, ' It is written,' or cried in broken words upon the cross, ' My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ? ' The disciple who has tried to live by the Master's teaching, and feels himself borne up in his struggles by the invisible presences of those who have trodden the same path before him, will never lose his gratitude or love. But he will not feel it

necessary to protect his Teacher's dignity by claims which neither history nor philosophy appears to him to justify; he will be content that in the empire of souls there should be many leaders; he will not complain of others because they follow not with him, he will rejoice in the larger view of Jesus, 'He that is not against us is for us.'

Christianity, then, understood as the religion of Jesus, or the nearest approach that we can make to it, is a type of spiritual life which communicates itself to his followers, and is reproduced more or less fully in them. It has many aspects, of which it is possible, in fine, to name but two. It is intensely ethical, and it is profoundly social. The Christian Church expresses its theology in three creeds. You cannot conceive Jesus himself composing them. It is sufficient to point to the contrast between the *Quicumque vult* and the Sermon on the Mount. But it will be urged that there is much in the ethical teaching of the Gospels which no longer serves us as a guide to life. It is quite true; the social sciences were unknown

in Judea ; charity organisation is a modern invention. To 'give to him that asketh thee,' at least when the request is made in the street, is no longer to fulfil a divine precept, it is to commit a recognised offence against the common weal. But no one can study the records of the early Christian communities, and fail to note the impassioned character of their ethical life ; and this must be carried back to the original impulse of Jesus. Behind the current maxims of his day, behind the great expectation of the end of the age which shaped so much of his teaching, lies the conception of man as the child of God, bound to aspire after positive likeness to him, or, in Gospel language, called to 'be perfect as the Father which is in heaven is perfect.' Here is a principle of everlasting application which sent forth Jesus at once to seek the wanderer and the lost. So far-reaching is it that we have hardly begun to work out its immense contents. We have made some progress recently in the treatment of the physically infirm, and are perpetually endeavouring to overrule

nature's methods of elimination by securing full opportunity for every recuperative energy. We have yet to take even the elementary steps for the education of the morally infirm, for our methods of punishment are still in the cruder stages of retribution (to say nothing of the hideous vindictiveness of war) rather than of restoration. Still, the ethical element of Christianity is steadily winning clearer and clearer recognition. We are, indeed, deplorably ignorant of the best modes of giving it effect, for we are only stumbling and groping after new ideals of social order. But we can see that it points to large transformations and reconstructions as the principle of mutual service, instead of privilege or power, becomes the higher law of life for the children of the kingdom.

The kingdom of God is still, indeed, as of old, only a hope. Yet it is a hope to which the immense extensions of the influence of the most progressive races in the last century have given new force and meaning. What Christian, however, does not often ask himself whether any single religion now existing

can ever gather all nations into one communion of worship and trust. In face of the deep-seated varieties of race, culture, civilisation, will even any synthesis of religions ever be possible, and if so, what will be the place of Christianity among them? Dim are the outlines of the future, and I have no prophet's vision. But I believe that the fundamental conceptions of Christianity will gradually be disengaged more clearly from their envelopments of outworn tradition. They will win more power in our social life, they will help more and more definitely—though by no means necessarily under the shelter or sanction of a single name—to shape the relations of peoples, and guide the destinies of nations. It is the goal of commerce to organise all the resources of the earth for the supply of the wants of mankind; it is the goal of science to diffuse one system of knowledge; it is the goal of politics to combine all countries in one harmony of justice, peace, and progress. Similarly it is the goal of religion to inspire one faith. But we may expect that this will rather be attained

by the slow approximation of ethical and spiritual aims, than by the direct extension of any single creed. The movement which has carried Christianity around the globe, which has brought philosophy, art, poetry, culture of every kind, into some sort of connection with it, if not into formal alliance, will gather strength as the ideas of Jesus are more clearly understood. But similar movements will by degrees affect the other higher religions. They will in their turn be touched with the modern spirit; and what cannot bear the new quickening will droop and die. They will thus be slowly purged of elements which no longer harmonise with modern knowledge, while their spiritual elements will be set free for further growth. The seers of Israel looked for a day when all peoples should be united in one fellowship of faith. That day is yet far off; and the Jerusalem which was the centre of the prophetic dream has disappeared. But the great hope has not vanished; it has only taken a new form. When the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God is applied to the nations, it immedi-

ately suggests the presence of a purpose in the long sequences of history, working out that high end to which we give the name of the education of the race. That training, in which the highest energies of the human spirit co-operate with the divine, will advance nearer and nearer to the mighty unity of Truth. To this vast process we must conceive the religions of the world as all in turn contributing with varied potencies. Foremost among them, at least in this stage of our development, is the Christianity we love. It summons us to be fellow-workers with God. In this high partnership let us go forwards. The realm of ideas is for ever open to us. There we, too, can take our part in the spiritual making of the world; there we may humbly share in the Creator's gladness, and in 'the joy of the Lord' find our weakness transfigured into strength.

THE END.

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